

Black, P. (2016) William Hogarth (1697-1764), Hudibras and house decoration.
British Art Journal, 17(1), pp. 43-53.

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Deposited on: 08 June 2016

William Hogarth (1697–1764), *Hudibras* and house decoration

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This essay attributes to Hogarth a decorative monochrome painting (Pl 1) representing a scene from Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* (published 1662–1677) which the young Hogarth illustrated in two sets of prints, both issued in 1726. One set consists of small book illustrations (mostly approximately 12.5 x 7.5 cm), and this is by general agreement the earlier project; the larger engravings (mostly approximately 26 x 35 cm) form the artist's first set of independent prints. Although the present work has long been framed as an easel painting, the technical evidence reveals that it was originally painted on panelling in a room that was decorated throughout with scenes from *Hudibras*, which were themselves painted over an earlier set of paintings. It appears to be the sole survivor of a set of *Hudibras* paintings, the existence of which was posited by the collector and biographer John Ireland (c1742–1808), who wrote the first scholarly study of Hogarth, *Hogarth Illustrated from His Own Manuscripts* (1791). Ireland later acquired a set of *Hudibras* paintings, convinced that they were Hogarth's originals. Despite doubts cast by others, he maintained in the 1812 (posthumous) edition that Hogarth had indeed painted the series. Ireland's faith in the existence of Hogarth's *Hudibras* paintings was noted in 1833 by JB Nichols & Son in their *Anecdotes of William Hogarth written by Himself*.

While doubting the authenticity of Ireland's pictures, Nichols & Son none the less agreed with him about Hogarth's origins as a painter in oil since their 'Account of Paintings by Hogarth' begins in 1726 with 'Twelve Pictures of Hudibras'.¹

The attribution of this work cannot be confirmed by any known contemporary documentation but, perhaps surprisingly, its authorship can be deduced simply by comparison with three related compositions among Hogarth's *Hudibras* prints. The painting obviously represents the same subject as one of the large engravings, *Hudibras Triumphant* (Pl 2). Certain differences that emerge from comparing the small and large sets as a whole, as well as from comparing the painting with the corresponding print, show, it will be argued, that the painting was made before the print; they also reveal something of Hogarth's working method as he produced related images in paint and print. The attribution may never be confirmed by any record, since the panel's likely date of c1724–1726 places it in the sparsely documented period in which Hogarth extricated himself from becoming a silver engraver, opting instead for the wider market available to the copper engraver, and the fame that might attend him as a painter. The unidentified location for which the present painting was commissioned was most probably a private house, a setting in which paintings all too easily remain obscure.

The illustrations are of works by William Hogarth (1697–1764) unless otherwise stated

1 *Hudibras Triumphant*, here attributed to William Hogarth (1697–1764), c1724–1726. Oil on panel, 61.6 x 90.7 cm, Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow

2 *Hudibras Triumphant* by William Hogarth, 1726. Engraving, 26.5 x 34.4 cm, private collection

For aspiring painters of Hogarth's generation there were several ways of getting on financially, besides becoming a 'mere face painter'. Hogarth's artistic success began with his *Hudibras* engravings, works that anticipate the more original and characteristic 'progresses' that proved so popular. But there were other routes to material success. George Lambert, for example, a landscape painter with whom Hogarth sometimes made collaborative paintings, is recorded on the payroll of the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre from 28 December 1726.² In addition to the theatre, painting the interiors of rich men's houses offered another option and, although only a handful of painted rooms have survived, there are enough to show that artists could make a living in this way. Allan Ramsay, the Edinburgh poet, book and printseller (who ordered an impressive 30 sets of Hogarth's *Hudibras* prints) included in his 1724 *Tea-Table Miscellany* anthology a Scots song called the 'Highland Laddie' in which the simple life is contrasted with that of the well-heeled English gentry:

'A painted room and silken bed,
May please a lawland laird and lady;
But I can kiss, and be as glad
Behind a bush in's highland plaidy.'

As the canny laddie might have predicted, the art that endures is popular and expressed in forms that reach the eyes and lips of the many, like Ramsay's songs or Hogarth's prints. Painted rooms for the 'laird and lady' were lucrative for the painter but ephemeral, just like the theatrical backdrops painted by Lambert and others.

The large *Hudibras* engravings (Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, London 1989, cat. 82–93) have long been regarded as a watershed in Hogarth's career and they were connected by the earliest commentators with Hogarth's emergence as a painter in oil. In 1729, George Vertue noted the success and happy marriage of Hogarth, engraver and painter, for whose career these 'Twelve Excellent and most Diverting Prints' represented a rung on the ladder from silver engraver to painter:

Mr. William Hogarth first learnt to grave armes on Silver. plate. &c. from thence study'd in the Accademy St. Martins lane. some time having a quick lively genius made several Charicatures. prints



etch'd afterwards the designs & plates of Hudibras. but finding it more agreeable to his mind, took up the pincill & applyd his studies to painting in small conversations. or fancyes. wherein he now has much reputation. & lately married to ye daughter of Sr. James Thornhill. without his consent.³

Although Hogarth's *Hudibras* prints are now among his least familiar works, Butler's witty and memorable mock-heroic poem was famous in Hogarth's youth and was, indeed, in constant demand throughout the 18th century. In her recent book on satire, Ashley Marshall characterises Hudibras as '... a particularly spectacular example of a topical satire with a long afterlife: new editions of Butler's poem appear every decade from the 1660s to the 1790s'.⁴ It was the perfect text for an ambitious artist who hoped that his illustrations would become best-sellers. In Hogarth's lifetime countless pocket editions that sold for two or three shillings were printed in London as well as Dublin, Edinburgh, Glasgow, even Riga; it was translated into German and French. Hogarth's illustrations featured in many editions and were much copied. Some of the plates had worn out by the 1760s, when editions appear with a mixture of the artist's original plates and replacement copies.

Description of the painting: provenance

The painting has only recently come to light, but its provenance can be traced back perhaps as far as the 19th century. It was sold by Sotheby's Dorset on 19 May 1986, as a French Allegorical Scene of c1700, from the collection of Miss Aileen Woodroffe (1890–1985) of Abbey House, Witchampton.⁵ The painting was bought by the London print dealer Robert Douwma and remained with his family in Kent until it was acquired in 2013 by the Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.⁶ Miss Woodroffe probably inherited the work from



her father, John Witts Allen Woodroffe (1851–1940), a wealthy London solicitor, who became a member of the National Art Collections Fund in 1927 and was the major art collector in his family. His purchases were mainly made in London and Paris between 1890 and the 1930s. At the moment, nothing is known of the work's earlier provenance and since it is also unknown how the painting was separated from its original interior setting, we do not know if we are searching the records for a single painting or a set. Various *Hudibras* sets are recorded at auction from 1800 onwards, mostly canvases, but it is as difficult to be sure who painted them as it is to tell which are distinct sets.⁷

The subject

The painting illustrates the climax of Butler's *Hudibras* Part 1, Canto II, lines 1103–1164. The ridiculous Presbyterian knight Sir Hudibras, and his Independent squire Ralpho,⁸ sally forth to cure the world of sin and debauchery. They soon come across a group of bear-baiters, whose traditional entertainment they try to stop. The bear-baiters are led by a one-legged fiddler called Crowdero, whose music is also offensive to puritan thinking. The painting shows the aftermath of a battle in which Hudibras and Ralpho capture Crowdero who is shown roped to Hudibras's horse and being towed towards the stocks. Ralpho places Crowdero's 'fiddle and its spoils, the case' on top of the whipping post as a trophy. From behind the stocks a young man watches Hudibras approaching with Crowdero. To the left is another group of watchers, consisting of a woman, her husband clutching his pilgrim hat, and a boy with a hoop. The background is formed, to the left, by a building and, to the right, behind Hudibras, a pair of crossed trees. In the foreground a clump of foliage stands between the boy with hoop and Hudibras's horse.

Materials and paint handling

The support is not a panel of a kind intended for painting. It is made up of three hand-sawn planks of a coniferous soft wood that has not yet been identified, but probably pine. It measures 61.6 x 90.7 cm and is painted in oil, in shades of brown pigment mixed with white. Widespread cracking of the paint layer in the left half suggests the addition of a large amount of drying oil.⁹ The edges of the panel are unpainted: approximately 1 cm of bare wood shows that when the panel was painted its edges were masked, most likely, by moulding into which the panel was fixed (Pl 4). Judging from its shape, the panel was made as an overdoor or overmantle. This supposition about the panel's function was confirmed by an infrared image made in 2014, which reveals that the *Hudibras* subject was painted over another image. Although it is difficult to make out in its entirety, elements of an architectural capriccio can be discerned, somewhat resembling the overmantle image by Robert Robinson (active 1674 – d 1706) for a house originally in Botolph Lane (Pl 11).¹⁰ The materials, technique and style of execution point to the work of a house painter, working *in situ* in a panelled interior. This architectural context offers the promise of a link with the person who commissioned the series but, in practice, with changes of ownership and taste, such interior paintings tended to be painted over, destroyed or removed. If not actually destroyed, sets of paintings were inevitably broken up. (The four surviving panels from one such broken *Hudibras* set, copied from Hogarth's large prints on to upright panels, are recorded by Witt Library mounts, Pl 5.)

Two colours of paint were used in the present picture: a dark pigment that might be burnt umber and a bright mixture of white with the same pigment. This two-colour scheme creates the intended chiaroscuro effect. Shadow sections were

3 Infrared reflectogram which reveals parts of the painting underneath the Hudibras Triumphant scene. Behind the stocks can be seen an architectural capriccio with a mosque in the centre. The dark shapes underneath the building to the left probably represent the dark foliage of a tree framing the composition

4 Side of panel showing the paint 'barb' and the edge free of paint where it was masked

5 *Hudibras and Sidropbel*, possibly by Tim Bobbin (1708–1786) after Hogarth, c1750–1800. Oil on panel, 113 x 50 cm. Photograph on Witt Library mount



painted with the unmixed transparent dark pigment, for example the head and neck of Hudibras's horse, Crowdero's body below his shoulders, and the foliage and shadow sides of the tree trunks. The effect of light falling from the right is emphasised by highlights mixed with white: for example, on the faces of the couple to the left, on the stocks and whipping post, foliage in the foreground, the haunches of Hudibras's horse and tree trunks to the right. The light is further emphasised by dark shadows especially on Hudibras's face, next to the sword and dagger lodged in his belt and the shadows in the bottom corners, behind the elongated woman in the pale dress and the captive Crowdero.

The artist sometimes painted wet-in-wet, for example, Crowdero's ragged clothes where the dark pigment covers a layer of white, leaving bright edges that show the fall of the rags making up his coat. The loop of rope used to tow Crowdero is created out of an undulating line of the shadow tone, on top of which, with a fine brush, the artist has created the highlight from a ribbed line of bright paint. The rope passes through the highlight on the horse's hindquarter; where it crosses, the vertical highlight on the horse's leg has been repainted, coming up to and just avoiding the rope. To the left, the boy's dark hoop passes through his mother's white dress, which may have been first scraped away using the butt of the brush. The background between the building and the tree trunks presents a sun-lit landscape with sky, a line of hills and a distant ridge that resembles, not the countryside of middle England, but the Roman Campagna.

Copy or original?

Two possible interpretations of the painting can be ruled out at the start. First, since the painting's subject is the same as Hogarth's *Hudibras Triumphant* engraving (Pl 2), a natural presumption is that the painting was copied from that print. Hogarth's *Hudibras* prints were very popular and much copied both by hack engravers and decorative painters. Several easel paintings (including a set of canvases formerly in the Mellon collection) and that set of panels recorded on Witt Library mounts (Pl 5), and which were, like the present work, originally part of a painted room, reveal that the demand for Hudibras pictures based on Hogarth's prints continued throughout the 18th century.¹¹

The relationship between the present painting and the large print, however, is not that of copy and original, as emerges from a number of significant differences, which are noted below. It is also worthwhile at least considering the possibility that the painting, if not copied from the engraving, might be Hogarth's original design for it, in monochrome, according to known engraver's practice. But the Hudibras painting is simply too big to be a design for the engraving and takes its scale instead from the panelled room of which it once formed part. Besides, reversed preparatory drawings show clearly how the large *Hudibras* plates were designed.¹²

Comparison with Hogarth's *Enraged Musician* sketch

The subject represented and the composition correspond closely to the *Hudibras Triumphant* engraving (Pl 2), but there are significant differences that need to be explained. A copy can sometimes be distinguished from its original by noting, for example, an absence of *pentimenti* or oddities such as a failure to understand spatial relationships between objects depicted.

In addition to the possibility of the painting's being a copy of the engraving there is also the theoretical possibility that it functioned as an engraver's *modello*. Hogarth did on one occasion make a monochrome sketch of this kind (Pl 6), for the engraving of the *Enraged Musician*, and such a relationship might account for differences which represent improvements to the design that were introduced during the process of engraving. The painting of the *Enraged Musician*, for example, does not show the girl with the milk pail on her head. This important, indeed central, figure who seems to orchestrate the noise-makers, was invented only after the *modello* had been painted (see engraving, Pl 7).¹³ There are several points of comparison between the *Hudibras* painting and the *modello* for the *Enraged Musician* which, despite the likely gap of 16 years or more between them, suggest that they could be by the same hand. For example, the knife grinder has a crude, mask-like face very similar to that of Hudibras; in both paintings eyes, noses and mouths are abbreviated as square dots and dashes. The paint surface of the *Hudibras* painting is superficially different, but this is probably the consequence of its being painted on panel rather than canvas, and there are no panel paintings by Hogarth with which to make a proper comparison.



Comparison with the *Hudibras Triumphant* engraving

The significant differences in detail make it unlikely that the painter used the large engraving as his model. Take, for example, the mounted figure of Hudibras, which is broadly similar in painting and engraving. In the painting, however, Hudibras's horse is small in proportion to the whole and, instead of reaching forward and upwards, it reaches down to graze. Another curious difference is Crowdero's wooden leg, which appears on the stump of his left leg rather than the right as in the engraving, a detail that a copyist would be unlikely to alter. In the foreground of the painting there is a bush to the right of the boy with hoop; in the corresponding area of the print we see instead a stone or rocky path, but its outline describes a left-right diagonal similar to the profile of the bush. The most telling differences, however, are to be found in the background. The building to the left, in the painting – an area in which both alterations to the surface image and brushstrokes forming part of the image underneath register in the paint layer as conflicting patterns of brushwork – has a roof and two windows, whereas the print shows a wooden, barn-like structure with a single window. The background to the right is also different: in the painting two crossed tree trunks appear instead of a single upright tree and receding building.

In making this comparison we need to be cautious because some of the known sets of *Hudibras* paintings based on Hogarth's prints admittedly introduce variations quite arbitrarily. The differences here, however, are not arbitrary but have sources that can be located precisely in other works by Hogarth, namely two of the small illustrations, *Hudibras in Tribulation* (Pl 8) and *Hudibras Sallying Forth* (Pl 9).

Several elements of the painting reveal a dependence on these two small illustrations rather than the large engraving. The building behind the stocks in the painting, for example, has a roof with overhanging eaves, supported by a short beam, corresponding to the image of the small print *Hudibras in Tribulation* (Pl 8). The relationship between painting and small illustration is confirmed by the tiny detail of the clump of foliage on the roof in the print, which grows out and over the sloping line of tiles. This detail is represented by what might otherwise be mistaken for a slip-stroke that breaks the roofline just above the violin case. The group of Hudibras and his horse in the painting was not taken from the large engraving but derives instead from the small illustration *Hudibras sallying forth* (Pl 9). The clump of foliage in the centre foreground of the painting was also modelled on that in the small *Hudibras Sallying Forth*. The background of the same small illustration shows a pair of gnarled and storm-blasted trees similar to those in the painting.

How are we to explain the painting's relationship to both the large and small *Hudibras* prints? A definitive answer can be found by comparing the sets as complete stories and counting off the episodes represented in each. Hogarth's 16 small illustrations were based on the 18 anonymous prints published in the two earliest illustrated editions of *Hudibras* in 1710 (Pl 10).¹⁴ When Hogarth's large engravings are compared with these illustrations it emerges that the *Hudibras Triumphant* episode was not included among the 1710 prints. Since he based his own small illustrations on the anonymous 1710 illustrations, they also fail to represent this subject. This means that at some point after making the small illustrations, the need arose to create this important scene from scratch. In order to design it, we can deduce that Hogarth looked to his own small series for ideas. Since the painting re-uses elements from two of the small prints it must be later. The painting lacks the compositional sophistication of the large print and so it seems possible that that print was a later development of the composition, a relationship analogous to that between the *Enraged Musician* engraving and its oil sketch. Since the painting is derived from the two small prints from which Hogarth created his *Hudibras Triumphant* image, it follows that it was painted by Hogarth and formed, if not the design, at least a first draft for the engraving *Hudibras Triumphant* (Pl 2).

Further comparison of the painting and the large engraving yields interesting evidence of how the details of these prints were interwoven as Hogarth redeployed his own imagery. Take, for example, the young man behind the stocks, with an expression which is comically animated in the large engraving but muted in the painting. The young man seen in the painting, however, has the expectant look of the prisoner whose head is just visible in a similar position looking out from behind a grille, one of Hogarth's additions to the image in his small *Hudibras in Tribulation* print (Pl 8). In the background to the right, in the large engraving, Hogarth inserted a receding building with two small gables, and this corresponds to the background of the small print *Hudibras in Tribulation*. This small print was, therefore, the source both for the left half of the painting and for the right half of the large engraving *Hudibras Triumphant*.

6 *Modello for the Enraged Musician*, 1741. Oil on canvas, 38 x 48 cm, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (A 189)

7 *The Enraged Musician*, 1741. Engraving, 36 x 40.8 cm. British Museum, 1868,0822.1554AN134956

8 *Hudibras in Tribulation*, 1726. Engraving, 12.1 x 7.1 cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow

9 *Hudibras Sallying Forth*, 1726. Engraving, 12.5 x 7.5 cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow

10 *Hudibras in Tribulation* by an unknown artist, from the 1710 edition. Engraving, 12.8 x 7.5 cm. Private collection

11 *Painted room in a house in Botolph Lane, Eastcheap* by Earnest William Tristram (1882–1952), c1906. Watercolour, reproduced from *Walpole Society*, vol III (see n16)



We can go further in comparing painting and large engraving (Pl 1, Pl 2) if we examine their relative strength as compositions. The painting combines areas in which the artist altered and reworked elements – the building to the left – with inventive passages of considerable elegance, for example the mounted Hudibras and the motif of the two trees behind which is possibly a quotation from a painting by Salvator Rosa.¹⁵ In general, however, the painting's composition is disjointed by the vertical break between the stocks and Hudibras's horse which disrupts Crowdero's advance towards his punishment. This contrasts dramatically with the tight, *chiastic* composition of the print. This X-shape may have been inspired by Carlo Cesio's engraving after Annibale Carracci's fresco of the *Triumph of Bacchus* which, as Antal demonstrated, was the source of borrowings in another of the large prints, *Hudibras and the Skimmington*.¹⁶ The X-shape centres significantly on the stocks in the centre, towards which Crowdero is being dragged. This is achieved by repositioning Hudibras and his horse, its head now pointing upwards, and by emphasising the lines of the receding buildings, left and right, which are thus converted into dynamic *repoussoir* devices. The visual evidence suggests that rather than serving as a model for a copyist, the large print came after the painting and in redesigning the image the artist consciously unified elements that had come together spontaneously in the painting.

We have no image at all of the 11 or so lost monochrome panels which almost certainly originally accompanied the painting, but bearing in mind what we know of 18th-century interiors, including the one originally decorated with the *Hudibras* panels formerly in the Adda collection (see above



and note 10), it is likely that the lost scenes were painted on upright panels. The standard arrangement is described by Edward Croft-Murray in an article about painted rooms, which centres on a room in a house in Botolph Lane, Eastcheap (Pl 11), the decoration of which is signed and dated 1696 by the painter and early mezzotint engraver Robert Robinson: 'This room belongs to a type of decoration which came into being as a result of the wainscot used in English houses during the later 17th and early 18th centuries – tall upright compartments divided by stiles above a chair-rail, below which are smaller horizontal panels.'¹⁷ Assuming that the painter of the present panel was obliged, like Robinson, to create a number of tall scenes to fit the woodwork, Hogarth's small set of prints would have provided a useful set of designs, since a majority of the plates, 11 in fact, are upright, being designed to fit the narrow format of the economically produced *duodecimo* volume.

Hogarth's *Hudibras* prints and his emergence as a painter

Hogarth's two sets of *Hudibras* prints were both issued in 1726, although by general agreement the 17 small book illustrations were made earlier but publication was delayed; Paulson dates them 'perhaps as early as 1720–1721'.¹⁸ The large set form Hogarth's first independent print series and they mark the longed-for commercial breakthrough that emboldened him to break away from the book- and print-dealers by publishing his own prints. Nevertheless he adhered at this stage to the standard arrangement and disposed of his copper plates to two print merchants who sold his 'Twelve Excellent and most Diverting Prints; Taken from the Celebrated Poem of Hudibras' to up-market subscribers from his own expanding circle. The price of 15 shillings was more than four times the price of the illustrated books.¹⁹

Hogarth's emergence as a painter is worth considering again in the context of the *Hudibras* prints, which were mentioned by Vertue in his first notice of Hogarth's career. The popularity of the prints spurred Hogarth to capitalise on his strengths. As Walpole later observed, however, from the position of one who knew the artist's more characteristic later works, Hogarth was not a natural illustrator of Butler, or of anybody else for that matter:

His *Hudibras* was the first of his works that marked him as a man above the common; yet what made him then noticed now surprises us to find so little humour in an undertaking so congenial to his talents. On the success, however, of those plates he commenced painter, a painter of portraits.²⁰

It was convenient, however, for both Vertue and (later) Walpole to use the publication of the *Hudibras* prints as a landmark with which to date Hogarth's emerging fame. Vertue tells us more, but not much: Hogarth later 'took up the pincill & applyd his studyes to painting in small conversations. or fancyes', notes which possibly repeat categories of painting which Hogarth was offering at that time. They certainly cannot be regarded as a catalogue of his early production as a painter and they do not exclude the possibility of earlier paintings or works in other genres.

Surviving paintings that can with certainty be assigned to Hogarth go back earlier than Vertue suggests, but only as far as 1728–1729, with the first two of the *Beggar's Opera* paintings of 1728 (one in *Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery*, the other formerly in the Anstruther–Gough–Calthorpe collection and now in a private collection, New York), the *Wansted Assembly* of 1728–1731 (Philadelphia Museum of Art) and the *Committee of the House of Commons* of c1729 (National Portrait Gallery NPG 926). But by his own account, Hogarth's contacts with painters went back to childhood and, professionally, at least to 1720 when, aged 'three and twenty', he enrolled in Vanderbank and Chéron's Academy. Records of specific paintings go back a little earlier than Vertue's first notice, beginning in 1727 with the *Element of Earth* that he painted to the disappointment of Morris the tapestry-weaver, who commissioned a design but eventually refused to pay. If Hogarth had not sued for non-payment we would probably never have known about this early work. The court papers seem to confirm something we know from anecdotal evidence: Hogarth was by then sufficiently familiar with Sir James Thornhill to call upon him as a witness to his own competence as a painter. The relationship with Thornhill is important in accounting for Hogarth's choice of monochrome for this painted room illustrating *Hudibras*.²¹

That Hogarth painted as well as engraved *Hudibras* was considered by Paulson in his remarks on Hogarth in this

period. He looked at the relationship between Hogarth and the two men to whom the prints were dedicated: 'William Ward Esq; of Great Houghton in Northamptonshire; And Mr. Allan Ramsay, of Edinburgh'. Ramsay is familiar enough, but the Northamptonshire lawyer William Ward (1671/2–1737) has no other connection with Hogarth. Despite this, his name appears above that of Ramsay. Could he have commissioned *Hudibras* paintings, or the painted room even? Paulson thought so, reasoning that, since Ramsay bought 30 sets, Ward's involvement with *Hudibras* must have been more valuable still: 'He reputedly commissioned Hogarth to produce a set of *Hudibras* paintings for his country house, East Haddon Hall; there is no other recorded connection between them.

Although it may be placing the cart before the horse to see this commission as the reason for the dedication, such a theory would conform to Hogarth's later practice: he was likely to dedicate a series to the first subscriber, or to someone who subscribed and was so taken by the seven or eight plates he saw that he commissioned the series painted.²² Ward was a prominent member of the legal community, and lawyers were an establishment group to which *Hudibras* had a particular appeal.²³ More importantly he was the owner of two manor houses, at Little Houghton²⁴ and East Haddon, the latter associated by the 19th-century literature with a set of *Hudibras* canvases.²⁵ This very promising trail runs cold very quickly, however, because Ward died in 1737 and both manor houses were destroyed, to be replaced by new buildings after they were bought by Christopher Smyth in 1777.²⁶ There is no known record of a painted room located in either house, but the destruction of the manor houses represents at least a possible reason for the removal of the present panel. (It is amusing to notice that Ward's name appears in the list of subscribers to the *Hudibras* prints alongside one, William Wykes. This was the name of the proprietor of the Post and Stage coach service from Northampton to London's Smithfield terminus, and since Mr Wykes chose to purchase a set of the *Hudibras* prints it seems possible that he did so because he knew the paintings in Ward's house, and equally possible that he witnessed Hogarth travelling to Northampton in order to visit Ward.)²⁷

Print signatures in the *Hudibras* sets

Another approach to the problem of locating the *Hudibras* paintings, although ultimately of only limited help, is to examine the engraved signatures on Hogarth's prints. These often provide information about related paintings. The artist uses several Latin formulae when signing plates and these have the unmistakable ring of truth.²⁸ If we follow the artist's inscriptions chronologically, we can trace his development, first, from a hack engraver who made prints after the designs of others, to a phase in which he designed his own prints, and for which he sometimes made a drawing first. As he emerged as a painter, he then proudly referred to the paintings from which he had made the engravings. This final metamorphosis is recorded in the six plates of *A Harlot's Progress* (P. 121–126), which are signed 'Wm Hogarth inv.t pinx.t et sculp.t', the 'pinx.t' being a reference to the paintings finished in 1731 that were to be hung at Fonthill.

In fact, none of the inscriptions of the *Hudibras* prints, large or small, refers to the existence of paintings, whether in the form of a 'painted room' or as easel paintings. Yet it is interesting to note, in the context of Vertue's and Walpole's narrow view of Hogarth's early production of paintings, that the print inscriptions do not form a completely reliable inventory of the works of art that preceded

12 *The Combat of Hudibras and Cerdon* (I, iii, 615–668) by Francis Le Piper (1640?–1695), c1690. Oil on panel, 23.5 x 43.2 cm. Tate T00247



them, any more than Vertue's Notebook does. Taking the small *Hudibras* illustrations first, these certainly provide in their inscriptions an honest record of the design process, being consistently signed 'W.Hogarth Inv.t et Sculp.t'. Although Hogarth does not claim

to have worked from drawings or paintings in any of the small illustrations, one preparatory pen-and-wash drawing for the small *Hudibras* series does in fact survive at Windsor: *Hudibras encounters the Skimmington*.²⁹ Its technique is similar to that used in the series of preparatory but finished drawings for the larger set, six of which are at Windsor, one in Ottawa, and one in the British Museum. (Another is in a private collection; see note 11.) Although only nine survive, it is reasonable to conclude that drawings existed for all twelve. Despite this, only three of prints have engraved signatures that record the existence of a drawing, using the Latin word *delineavit*.³⁰

Broad similarities in approach between the drawings for the large set – they are uniform in technique except for the first – suggest that Hogarth planned his large *Hudibras* prints very carefully, with a view to presenting the drawings in public. Apart from *Hudibras Sallying Forth* (Windsor, Royal Library), which is in black chalk, the known drawings were made in pen with brown and grey washes. The surviving drawings are incised, which is evidence that they were imposed on the plates and the images transferred with a stylus. In all Hogarth took care to represent his main characters pointing, or reaching for a sword or other implement, with their left hand so that, when reversed in printing, each image shows a natural, right-handed action. This question of right-handedness is an important consideration for the monochrome *Hudibras* painting because its image is painted in the same sense as the corresponding engraving. Hogarth's drawing for Plate 4 *Hudibras Triumphant* is lost.³¹ It is likely, however, that like all surviving drawings it was drawn in reverse to the engraving, and showed Hudibras to the left, proceeding towards the right; the fiddler Crowdero's wooden leg would have been drawn on his left side in order to match the preceding plate, *Hudibras's First Adventure*.

Painted rooms in the period 1650–1750

The original location of the house where the *Hudibras* painting was made can only be guessed. Yet, despite the sad disappearance of an unknown number of examples, the century 1650–1750 was a period in which there was a substantial demand for painted rooms such as that signed by Robert Robinson (Pl 11). The inspiration for these small-scale schemes came from the tradition of wall and ceiling paintings, most often on plaster, in British palaces and stately homes, carried out by a few enterprising (mainly French or

Italian) painters. The appeal of the more modest painted rooms seems to have been influenced by the popularity of wainscot panelling in this period. This wall covering makes the hanging of paintings relatively difficult because of the predominance of tall narrow panels, but at the same time it provides the artist with a series of easily painted, framed surfaces.

One late 17th-century artist whose painted rooms Hogarth is likely to have known is the painter Francis Le Piper (1640?–1695). Le Piper, who was of Flemish origin, is the subject of an early biography by R Graham (1695) repeated in Walpole's later *Anecdotes*. They describe a well-known London satirist, some of whose ideas and practices, for example, his ability to observe remarkable faces and reproduce them from memory, perhaps influenced the young Hogarth. The most memorable thing about the Le Piper described by Graham seems to have been his painted interiors, especially in inns. In Walpole's version we learn that: 'Most of his performances were produced over a bottle, and took root where they were born: the Mitre Tavern at Stock's Market, and the Bell at Westminster were adorned by this jovial artist. At the former was a room called the Amsterdam, from the variety of sects Mr Le Piper had painted in it, particularly a Jesuit and a Quaker.'³²

As well as being a painter of rooms, Le Piper is also the first artist to have illustrated *Hudibras* (Pl 12). Their original context is unknown, but a set of 12 panels illustrating Butler's poem survives. They are first recorded in the collection of the Strand bookseller W Davis in 1816.³³ Two panels from the set are in the Bute Collection at Mount Stuart, four in Tate Britain, three in Rye Art Gallery, and three in unknown locations.³⁴ One of the Bute panels represents Hudibras towing the roped Crowdero towards the stocks, and this is the same subject as the *Hudibras Triumphant* painting. (The image is quite different, however, and seems not to have influenced Hogarth.) Apart from these *Hudibras* panels and a single related drawing in the British Museum there is no evidence of Le Piper's output as an artist. (His painted rooms seem to have suffered the fate of refurbishment.) Because of these paintings, some have thought to connect Le Piper with the first printed *Hudibras* illustrations, published in 1710 and used by Hogarth as models for his small illustrations. The 1710 prints are unsigned, however, and since there are no discernible links between them and Le Piper's panels there is no reason to believe that he designed them.



Hogarth's use of monochrome

There is one element in particular of the lost painted room under discussion that provides a significant pointer towards the experience and training of the painter concerned. This is the choice of monochrome for painting a series illustrating *Hudibras*. Monochrome, whether tending towards the olive green often used by William Kent, or the 'stone colour' favoured by James Thornhill, had a specific place in interior painting.³⁵ Monochrome was generally used for subsidiary areas such as hallways and staircases, by analogy perhaps with Raphael's use of monochrome for the lower sections of the *Stanze* frescoes, which were painted to mimic sculptural reliefs.

In Thornhill's public works, monochrome played a similar symbolic role, representing the most elevated historical subjects in the sober tones associated with ancient relief sculptures. This was the intended (simplified and sublime) effect of the panels of the life of St Paul painted in the dome of St Paul's Cathedral (1715–1719), and of the historical reliefs in the Painted Hall at Greenwich (1708–1727, Pl 13), with which Thornhill interspersed scenes of living people, which were painted in colour to form a vivid contrast. To paint *Hudibras* in monochrome was possibly a decision determined by architecture, taking into account the position of the panels within the house, but it also turned Butler's story into a historical monument that matched some of the most prominent public art of the time.

Throughout his life, Hogarth was Thornhill's most ardent admirer. He would certainly have known him by 1724, when he began attending the academy in Thornhill's house in Covent Garden Piazza, where for a time he was to live with Jane Thornhill after their marriage in 1729. Hogarth's *Autobiographical Notes*, difficult as they are to follow, make a connection between *Hudibras* and Thornhill's monochrome painted schemes and, as with Vertue's first notice of Hogarth, the publication of *Hudibras* is used retrospectively as a chronological anchor. In Hogarth's memory, *Hudibras* immediately follows a reference to Thornhill's most famous monochrome works:

I therefore was taken early from school and served a long apprenticeship to a Silver plate Engraver. But the painting of St Pauls and Greenwich hospital which were during this time running in my head the Narrowness of this business I determined this Engraving no larger than necessity obliged me to it. Copper plates was the next step. When I frontispieces for Books and Prints to Hudibras in twelve ... soon brought me into this way³⁶

The interest in and affection for Thornhill's work shown here

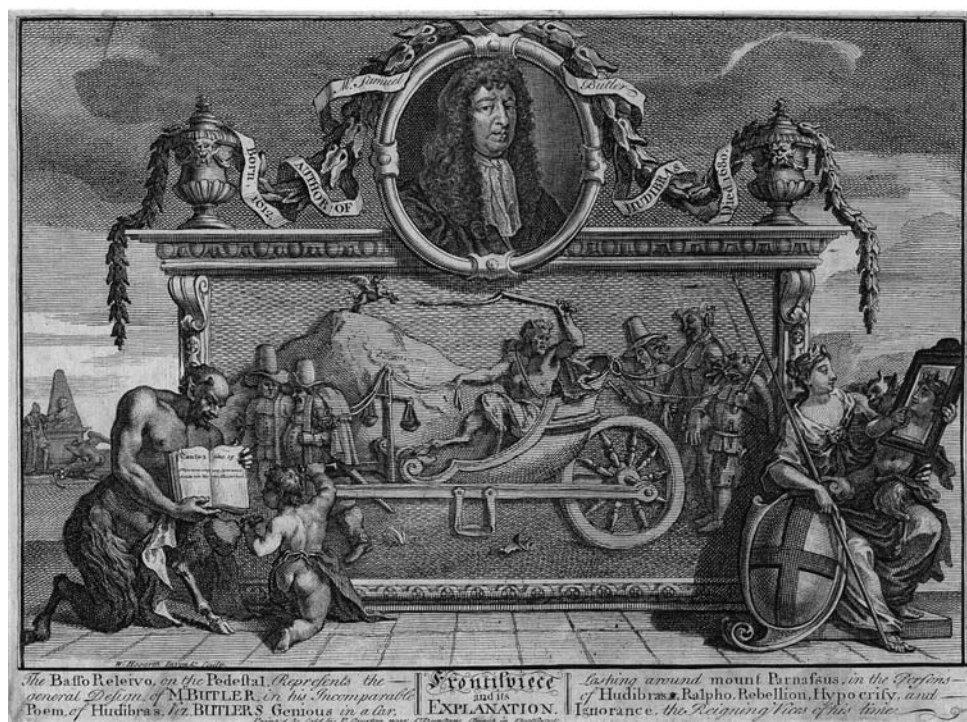


represents an enthusiasm for art of a kind that Hogarth created only on isolated occasions (the public paintings for St Mary's Redcliffe, Bristol, for St Bartholomew's Hospital and for Lincoln's Inn). It is possible, however, and likely, that Thornhill was also the inspiration for Hogarth's study of the Italian fresco compositions instanced by Antal in relation to *Hudibras*. Hogarth may indeed have been able to make learned quotations in the manner described above precisely because he had access to albums of prints in Thornhill's library. The true extent of Hogarth's indebtedness to Thornhill is hard to estimate, but we know that Hogarth received academic tuition from him and we can be reasonably sure that the artists worked together on projects for paintings in houses.

A well-known anecdote (1808) informs us that Hogarth assisted Thornhill at Headley Park in Hampshire, for instance, where Thornhill's patron was the Warden of the Fleet prison, John Huggins, whose son William was Hogarth's friend. If this interior had survived we might see Thornhill's work alongside that of his collaborator and son-in-law:

An allegorical ceiling by Sir James Thornhill is at the house of the late Mr Huggins, at Headley Park, Hants. The subject of it is the story of Zephyrus and Flora; and the figure of a Satyr and some others were painted by Hogarth.³⁷

Hogarth's painted contributions to decorative schemes by Thornhill may not have survived, but a small number of works show that he understood very well the decorative painter's use of monochrome. Thornhill's practice was based on the decoration of public buildings and grand houses in which dynastic claims were manifested through allegory and the historicising power of monochrome. Thornhill's drawings are inscribed to indicate when the subject would appropriately be represented in monochrome.³⁸ His practice drew on academic, European practice, influenced among others by Louis Laguerre, whose



1704 contract for Kiveton required that '... he will also paint the four panells in the great Hall mentioned to be primed as above with such history the basso Relievo way as by choice and approbation of the Duke of Leeds shall be pitched upon.'³⁹

In Hogarth's own practice, in addition to the *Enraged Musician* modello of 1741, three monochrome 'basso Relievo' panels appear underneath the monumental *Good Samaritan* and *Pool of Bethesda* paintings on the staircase of St Bartholomew's Hospital, completed in 1737. Because the panels are subsidiary and historical, showing the vision of the monk Rahere, the laying of the foundation stone of the hospital, and the treatment of the sick, Hogarth opted for monochrome as the appropriate mode of painting.⁴⁰

Finally, a debt to Thornhill and his use of monochrome is revealed by the allegorical frontispiece to the large *Hudibras* prints themselves (Pl 15), which presents a fictive stone monument to Butler. Its main feature is a summary of the *Hudibras* poem being carved in relief by the young satyr, with whom the artist has identified himself, as at Headley Park, through the pun on satyr and satire. As Antal observed, several elements including the young satyr and the carved stone plinth supporting another work of art were borrowed from the *Nature* painting by Rubens and Jan I Brueghel (Pl 14), which was one of the treasures of Thornhill's art collection.⁴¹ Rubens's image is topped by the statue of Diana of Ephesus, who was the tutelary goddess of artists from the Renaissance onwards.

At this moment when Hogarth was learning from Thornhill some of the wisdom of great masters such as Rubens and Annibale Carracci, the *Frontispiece* has an interesting subtext in relation to the present article. It reveals one of the secrets of painting. Hogarth's frontispiece represents Hudibras as a stone relief that echoes the inscribed pedestal painted by Rubens to support the Goddess of Nature. It is Hogarth's medium, engraved rather than painted (Thornhill's), but it shows that Hogarth's practice encompassed Thornhill's way of representing appropriate subjects as reliefs. This fits with the argument here advanced that Hogarth used 'basso relievo' as a historical mode for a long lost painted room illustrating *Hudibras*, possibly in the manor house of William Ward, in rural Northamptonshire.

13 *George I arriving at Greenwich* by James Thornhill (1675-1734) with Dietrich Ernst André (c1680-d.1734?), completed 1725. Oil on plaster. Painted Hall, Greenwich Hospital, north wall

14 *Nature Adorned by the Graces* by Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1644) and Jan I Brueghel (1568-1625), c1615. Oil on panel, 106.7 x 76.4 cm. Glasgow Museums, inv no 609

15 *Hudibras, Frontispiece*, 1726. Engraving, 26.0 x 34.8 cm. British Museum S,2.6

Thanks to Tabitha Barber, Harriet Bligh, Christopher Davidge, Christa Gattringer, Erna Hermens, Elizabeth Jacklin, Rica Jones, Lowell Libson, Stephen Lloyd, Alice Martin, Lynsey Nairn, Mark Richter, and Arie Wallert.

- 1 Ireland, 1812: 'Hogarth seems to have been particularly partial to this subject, for previous to engraving the twelve large plates, he painted it in oil. The twelve original pictures, somewhat larger than the prints, are in the possession of the editor of these volumes.' Nichols and Ireland were cautiously followed by Austin Dobson, *William Hogarth*, London 1883: 'He had already, if we may trust an often-repeated statement, produced the *Hudibras* series in oils. Respecting these there is considerable controversy, for which the reader is referred to the "Catalogue of Paintings" in Part II.'
- 2 Elizabeth Einberg, 'Catalogue Raisonné of the works of George Lambert', *Walpole Society*, LXIII (2001), pp111-99.
- 3 *Walpole Society*, XXII (Vertue III), 1933-4, p38.
- 4 Ashley Marshall, *The Practice of Satire in England 1658-1770*, Baltimore, 2013, p25.
- 5 'Lot 437, French School c1700, an Allegorical Scene (b/w ill. est £1,000-£1,500).' With her sister Vera, Aileen bequeathed eight paintings to museums through the National Art Collections Fund. I am very grateful to Stephen Lloyd for information about John Witts Allen Woodroffe.
- 6 The acquisition in 2013 was supported by the National Fund for Acquisitions.
- 7 A set which was offered for sale in 1824 (precise date not known) by Thomas and Horatio Rodd is a possible match: 'Twelve original and very spirited Sketches, being a Series of Illustrations to Hudibras, differing from those engraved after the same Master, on pannel, in flat gilt frames' (Lugt number: none; Getty Provenance Index Sale Catalog Br-2528). The same paintings, 'A Set of twelve original Designs for Butler's Hudibras' were offered by Rodd, at Christie's, Jun 18 1824 (lot 3), bought in at 5 guineas (Lugt number 10698; Getty Provenance Index Sale Catalog Br-2592). It is equally likely, however, that we are looking for a single painting, perhaps something like the 'Sketch for Hudibras', belonging to General Davies, which was exhibited in the 'Georgian England' exhibition at Whitechapel in 1906.
- 8 Independents were puritans of a kind who believed that each church should be self-governing.
- 9 I am grateful for comments on technique from Christa Gattringer, Erna Hermens, Rica Jones and Mark Richter. It is interesting to note that a

- recipe for drying oil commonly available combined boiled linseed oil with burnt umber, which is possibly the main pigment in the painting. This is given in *The Compleat Housewife: or Accomplish'd Gentlewoman's Companion*, London 1739, p342: 'To Prepare the Drying-oil. Take two quarts of linseed-oil, put it in a skillet or saucepan and put to it a pound of burnt amber; boil it for two hours gently: prepare this without doors, for fear of endangering the house; let it settle, and it will be fit for use; pour the clear off, and use that with the white-lead, the lees or dregs being as good to be used with red-lead.'
- 10 The infrared reflectogram was made in Glasgow by Dr Arie Wallert of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. It was done with an Osiris 512 x 512 infrared camera, equipped with a Hamamatsu (G11135-512DE) InGaAs image sensor allowing a 4096 x 4096 pixel capture area. The instrument is equipped with a Rodagon 1:5.6 lens, f=150mm IR. The sensitivity in the NIR region extended to approx. 1700nm. Visible light was filtered out at 875nm with a Schott RG830 filter.
 - 11 The images of the panels are: *Hudibras Disputing with Ralpho*, *Hudibras and Sidrophel*, *Hudibras and laurier*, and *The Committee*. The set, presumably originally 12 panels, is recorded twice, first in the M Adda collection, West Kirby, and subsequently when auctioned by Sotheby's, London, 2 March 1955 (lot 117): 'W. Hogarth. A screen of four panels illustrating episodes from Butler's Hudibras, on panel each 44½ in. by 19¾ inches' (113 x 50 cm). The West Kirby location for the set raises the possibility that they were painted by Tim Bobbin, known as the 'Lancashire Hogarth'.
 - 12 Nine drawings survive for the large *Hudibras* plates, corresponding to plates 1–3, 5, 7, 8, 10–12; they are all incised for transfer. Six are in the Royal Collection, and of these five are executed in pen and wash, and one in black chalk (with touches of red chalk), RCIN 913459-913464, AP Oppé, *The Drawings of William Hogarth*, London 1948, cat. 5–10. *Hudibras Beats Sidrophel and his Man Whacum*, pen and brown ink with grey wash, is in the National Gallery of Canada, no 18481; *The Committee*, pen and grey-brown wash, British Museum 1980.0510.20; *Hudibras Vanquished by Trulla*, pen and black and brown ink, grey wash, was sold by Lowell Libson, then of Leger Galleries, London, c1985. The set was no longer complete when John Ireland wrote his *Hogarth Illustrated from His Own Manuscripts*, London 1791: 'Seven of the drawings were in the possession of the late Mr Samuel Ireland; three are in Holland, and two are said to have been in the collection of a person in one of the northern provinces about twenty years ago, but are now probably destroyed. Thus are the works of genius scattered like the Sybil's leaves.'
 - 13 *The Enraged Musician* engraving of 1741 is signed with the phrase 'Design'd, Engrav'd & Publish'd by Wm Hogarth'. It was made as a pair to *The Distressed Poet*, 1736, which was engraved from a painting in colour. That print is signed 'Invented Painted Engraved & Publish'd by Wm Hogarth' (Birmingham Museums Trust, 1733–5, 65.9 x 79.1 cm, 1934P500); the painting is substantially larger than the engraving.
 - 14 There are two subjects in the 1710 set which Hogarth does not include: plate 4, *Ralpho rescues Hudibras from Crowdero* (I, iii, 134) and plate 16, *The Marriage of the 'good old cause' and Eve* (III, ii, 82). There were two distinct editions of the text in 1710, and the illustrations in them are by different engravers. Neither set names an engraver or designer of the plates. Besides *Hudibras Triumphant*, Hogarth's large set contains (in addition to the Frontispiece) one further new subject, *The Committee* (P. 91).
 - 15 Salvator Rosa's *Landscape with Tobias and the Angel* has a similar arrangement (in reverse) of trees and distant classical landscape, 147.4 x 224 cm, London National Gallery, (NG 6298). This work was in collection of The Hon James Ansell, his sale Christie's 6–7 April 1773. Its earlier whereabouts are unknown.
 - 16 F Antal, 'Hogarth and His Borrowings', *Art Bulletin*, vol 29, no 1 (1947), pp36–48. Cesio's print after Annibale Carracci, Bartsch XXI.110.33, comes from the well-known *Galleria Nel Palazzo Farnese in Roma*, 1657. No work has been done, so far as I know, on how Hogarth would have had access to such prints but, since the Frontispiece of the large *Hudibras* prints quotes elements from the Rubens/Brueghel painting in Thornhill's collection, Thornhill's library must be a likely source. The Galleria is not listed by name in the sale of 'Sir James Thornhill's Collection of Prints, Drawings, Models, Plasters, &c' held by Cock on 26 February 1735, but several lots labelled eg 'Twenty Five of Annibal Carracci' show that they may indeed have been present.
 - 17 Edward Croft-Murray, 'An English Painter of Chinoiserie', *Country Life Annual*, 1955, pp174–9. The article attributes to Robinson 10 detached panels in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Croft-Murray refers to Robinson's painted room in Botolph Lane, Eastcheap, described by EW Tristram, 'A Painted Room of the Seventeenth Century', *Walpole Society*, III (1913–14), pp78–81. The panels from the Botolph Lane house were removed in 1906 and are preserved in Sir John Cass's School in Duke Lane, Aldgate. Another set of 13 panels by Robinson belongs to Henley Town Council, presumably removed from Carshalton House. For Robinson's interiors, see also Edward Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England 1537–1837*, 2 vols, London 1962, vol 1, pp223–4.
 - 18 Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Work* (3rd revd edn), London 1989, cat. 5–21.
 - 19 172 subscribers are named on the sheet that Overton and Cooper printed to accompany the prints. This notes where people ordered more than one set. Ramsay purchased 30 sets. William Ward, the other dedicatee of the prints, does not seem to have ordered more than one. The total number of sets recorded is 218, giving the edition a total value, at 15s each, of £163.10s.
 - 20 Walpole, *Anecdotes of painting in England*, 3 vols, London 1862, III, p728.
 - 21 Assuming that the J Thornhill named is not John, son of James, who succeeded his father as Sergeant Painter. RB Beckett, 'Hogarth's Early Painting: I 1727–28: Hogarth v. Morris', *Burlington Magazine*, XC (April 1948), pp100–101.
 - 22 Paulson, *Hogarth, His Art, life and Times*, 2 vols, London and New Haven 1971, I, p156.
 - 23 Ward acted as High Sheriff of Northampton in 1695 and 1701.
 - 24 Ward was lord of the manor of Little Houghton, not Great Houghton as stated on Overton and Cooper's list of subscribers to the Hudibras prints.
 - 25 Nichols, 1833, listed a set of Hudibras paintings at East Haddon Hall which were first mentioned by George Baker in 1830, in his *History and Antiquities of Northampton* (1822–30), I, 163–4, which was published by Nichols. The 'East Haddon Hogarths' are described by 'Video' (John Conybeare) in *The Art-Journal*, 1874, pp265–268. His description reveals that they were based on the prints, with variations of the kind seen in the Mellon/Jeanerat set of paintings, with which they may be identical.
 - 26 I am very grateful to Christopher Davidge of Little Houghton and Bruce Bailey for this information. The East Haddon Hall that belonged to William Ward was demolished, as was their main home, Little Houghton Manor, in 1777. There is a contract for a New House at East Haddon, dated 1780 which, according to Bailey, talks of 'a New House to be built'.
 - 27 George James de Wilde, *Rambles Roundabout and Poems*, Northampton 1872, p244.
 - 28 Thus, among the earliest engravings are the 15 plates commissioned for Aubry de la Motraye's *Travels through Europe...*, published 1723/4 (Paulson 28–42), and of these the majority are based closely on plates Hogarth knew from an earlier French edition of 1712–13; these he signs 'Hogarth Sculp.t'. This simple, honest, statement makes clear that he made no claim to have designed, drawn or painted the images. Where his own creativity creeps in, as in the plate of Charles XII at Bender (P. 37), he credits himself as designer: 'W.Hogarth Inv.t et sculp.t'.
 - 29 RCIN 913465. Oppé, *English Drawings at Windsor Castle*, London 1950, p338.
 - 30 *Hudibras' First Adventure* (W.Hogarth delin et sculp.), *Burning the Rumps at Temple Bar* (W.Hogarth Inv. delin. et sculp.) and *Hudibras and the Lawyer* (W.Hogarth delin et sculp.).
 - 31 See above, n12.
 - 32 Walpole, *Anecdotes*, II, pp613–15.
 - 33 JB Nichols & Son, 1833: 'The late Mr W. Davis, bookseller in the Strand, had, by 1816, twelve small pictures of scenes in Hudibras by Lepire.' These were sold at Christie's, 9 June 1821 (lot 138), 'Hogarth, Twelve small Subjects from Hudibras', Lugt number 10056; Getty Provenance Index Sale Catalog Br-2143.
 - 34 They are: 1. *Hudibras and Ralpho, Ralpho deserting his wife*, similar to Hogarth's *Hudibras Sallying Forth*, Part I, Canto i. Bute Collection, Mount Stuart. 2. *Hudibras encounters Talgol and Magnano (Hudibras's First Encounter with the Bear-Baiters)*, (Part I, Canto ii, lines 835–868), 216 x 435 mm. Tate T00620. 3. *Crowdero attacking Hudibras* (I, ii, 912–949). Rye Art Gallery. 4. *Hudibras and Ralpho taking Crowdero as their prisoner*, (I, ii, 1124–1127). Bute Collection, Mount Stuart. 5. *The Combat of Hudibras and Cerdon* (I, iii, 615–668), 235 x 432 mm. Tate T00247. 6. *Hudibras's Encounter with Trulla* (I, iii, 823–826), sold Sotheby's London, 18 November 1981. 7. *Hudibras and Ralpho taken prisoner* (I, iii, 961–973), 232 x 432 mm. Tate T00248. 8. *Hudibras and Ralpho in the Stocks* (II, I, 115–121), sold Sotheby's London, 18 November 1981. 9. *Hudibras and the skimmington* (II, ii, 586 ff.), 232 x 438 mm. Tate T00621. 10. *Hudibras consulting Sidrophel* (II, iii, 557–565). Rye Art Gallery. 11. *Hudibras's victory over Sidrophel* (II, iii, 1049–1064). Rye Art Gallery. I am very grateful to Tabitha Barber, Curator at Tate Britain for information about Francis Le Piper.
 - 35 In 1726–7, soon after the building's completion, Thornhill published *An Explanation of the Painting in the Royal Hospital at Greenwich*. His descriptions are succinct, and he carefully notes of each monochrome painting that the intention is the imitation of carved reliefs, for example, p8: 'The oval Frame is supported by stone figures, and grouped with all sort of marine Trophies in Stone Colour.'
 - 36 William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty*, edited by Joseph Burke, Oxford, 1955, p204.
 - 37 John Nichols and George Steevens, *The Genuine Works of William Hogarth, illustrated with Biographical Anecdotes, A chronological catalogue and commentary*, London, 1808–17, I, p44. The date of Thornhill's work at Headley Park is not recorded.
 - 38 For example, the pen-and-wash drawing *George I landing at Greenwich*, 17.5 x 22.8 cm, 1865.0610.1353
 - 39 Laguerre's contract is quoted in Norbert Lynton, 'Laguerre at Kiveton', *Burlington Magazine*, XCVIII (June 1956), p204, 206–207.
 - 40 Edward Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting*, II, p35.
 - 41 See n16.